

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

A-Bomb Test Suspension and a Summit Conference

Report No. C-1

Series No. 3

June 3, 1958

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

1971-1972

1973-1974

1975-1976

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|   | <u>Page No.</u> |
|---|-----------------|
| INTRODUCTION .....  | i               |
| SUMMARY .....   | i               |
| <br><u>Section I - Knowledge</u> .....  | <br>1 - 3       |
| <u>Section II - What the U.S. Should Do</u> .....                               | 4 - 8           |
| <u>Section III - Confidence in Possibilities</u><br><u>of Suspension</u> .....  | 9 - 16          |
| <u>Section IV - Expectations Concerning</u><br><u>A Summit Conference</u> ..... | 17              |
| <br>APPENDIX .....  | <br>18 - 33     |



## I N T R O D U C T I O N

This report is the second of a **S**eries planned to follow West German reactions to issues of importance at a possible Summit Conference.\* At the time that this particular study was under consideration, the Russian announcement that they were prepared to suspend further atomic-bomb tests was viewed as the "big news" of the day. This particular inquiry, therefore, was focused upon that aspect; not only because of the offer as a Russian maneuver, but because of its possible affect upon the known susceptibilities of the West Germans when it comes to anything having to do with atomic energy.

The sample is a probability one of the West German adult population (18 years of age and over), and consists of a total of 930 cases collected during the period from April 28th through May 15, 1958. Interviewing was carried out by DIVO, Marktforschung - Meinungsforschung - Sozialforschung, GmbH, Frankfurt am Main/Bad Godesberg.

## S U M M A R Y

While three out of ten West Germans said that they had heard of the latest Russian proposal, a further test question revealed that only half of those claiming knowledge actually knew what it was about. Thus as a propaganda maneuver, it had little influence upon the population.

Seven out of ten would also like the U.S. to stop atomic-bomb tests, but when the idea of mutual control was introduced, a majority thought that the United States should continue its tests until this feature was achieved. These two sets of results are not viewed as contradictory, but rather as a refinement of popular desire for an even better means of ensuring against the dangers of an atomic holocaust.

Only one out of five, however, thinks that atomic-bomb tests will actually be suspended; and the same proportion calls such suspension (if it were to occur) of value without an agreement on control of production of these weapons. Claimed awareness of the Russian proposal was found to have little relationship with the level of confidence expressed in the possibilities ... whether claiming to have heard or not, roughly two out of three are found to have little confidence that the Russians will actually stop, or that such tests will cease without agreement on control.

As for the prospects of a Summit Conference itself, one-half of the population calls such a meeting more probable than improbable. Among those who do not call it probable, there are about as many calling it improbable as there are uncertain what will happen.

\* The first report was No. C-18, "German Reunification and A Summit Conference," May 8, 1958 (Official Use Only).



Section I - Knowledge

WHILE 3 OUT OF 10 CLAIM TO HAVE HEARD OF RUSSIAN PROPOSAL, ONLY HALF AS MANY ACTUALLY KNEW ...

When faced with the simple question of whether they had heard or read of any new Russian proposals on disarmament or atomic energy, three out of ten (30%) in West Germany said that they had. Since, however, what was actually the new Russian move was the statement that they were prepared to cease testing of atomic bombs if the West would also promise to stop, it was imperative to ask these three-tenths of the population what the new Russian move was.

Classification of the responses to this further query reveals that just over half of those who said that they had heard of the move (17% of the total sample) were found to know what it was. One out of ten (9%) went wide of the mark by making reference to the Rapacki Plan or to some even more vague Russian disarmament maneuver. Four per cent confessed that they could not say what it was that the Russians were supposed to have proposed.

"Have you ever heard or read of any new Russian proposals on disarmament or atomic energy?"

|     |                              |
|-----|------------------------------|
|     | <u>West Germany</u><br>(930) |
| Yes | 30%                          |
| No  | 70                           |
|     | <u>100%</u>                  |

IF "Yes":

"What was it about?"

|            |            |
|------------|------------|
| Correct    | 17%        |
| Incorrect  | 9          |
| No opinion | 4          |
|            | <u>30%</u> |

## WHAT THE RUSSIANS WERE SUPPOSED TO HAVE PROPOSED ...

Examples of the actual comments made by respondents in answering the query as to what the Russians were supposed to have proposed in their most recent move are presented below.

"Have you ever heard or read of any new Russian proposals on disarmament or atomic energy?"

IF "Yes":

"What was it about?"

West Germany  
(930)

### CORRECT:

The Russians stopped their atomic-bomb tests (or offered to stop their atomic-bomb tests):

12%

- "I heard that Russia suspended all atomic tests."
- "Well, I read that the Russians offered to halt all nuclear tests for a period of three years."
- "The Russians will discontinue all atomic-bomb tests."
- "Russia offered to halt its H-bomb tests."
- "Russia is willing to renounce all nuclear tests."

The Russians will not carry out further atomic tests if the West will follow suit:

4

- "If America will agree to halt all nuclear tests, Russia will also stop its atomic explosions."
- "The Russians will discontinue their atomic tests under the condition that the West will do the same."
- "Russia said it will halt all nuclear tests, if the West consents to suspend its atomic tests as well."
- "I read that Russia agrees to halt all nuclear tests if the West will follow suit."

The Russians will halt all atomic-bomb tests, but reject inspection plans:

1

- "The Russians are willing to halt all atomic-bomb tests, but will not consent to the principle of joint inspection."
- "We stopped all atomic tests.' That's what they say, but they cannot be trusted, and they will never agree to any control system."

### INCORRECT:

Rapacki Plan: Creation of a neutral, atom-free Zone:

4

- "Russia stated its approval of the Rapacki plan."
- "Russia wants Germany to become an atom-free Zone."
- "As far as I know, their proposals deal with the creation of an atom-free Zone."
- "Russia wants the Federal Republic to stay neutral. If the Federal Republic will refuse atomic armament, Russia promises not to attack it with atomic weapons."

(Cont'd on next page)



The Russians have made proposals on general (atomic) disarmament:

2%

"I heard that Russia wants a conference to be held to discuss the atomic issue."

"Russia is seeking a control system applicable to general disarmament."

"Russia is interested in a general controlled disarmament."

The Russians are bluffing, their intentions are not sincere:

1

"They always play their own game. They are just bluffing."

"If the Russians agree to a general control system, they do it for propaganda purposes."

The Russians are willing to carry out disarmament:

1

"Russia decided to proceed with disarmament."

"Khrushchev announced Russia's approval of a general disarmament."

Other answers:

1

"In my opinion, the Russians want us to negotiate with the Pankow regime, but I'm against it."

"They advocate Germany's withdrawal from NATO."

NO OPINION:

4  
30%

Section II - What the U.S. Should Do

SEVEN OUT OF TEN ALSO WANT U.S. TO SUSPEND A-BOMB TESTS ...

The tremendous appeal of the apparently simple proposal that atomic-bomb tests be stopped can be seen in the overwhelming approval given to the idea that the U.S. should also offer to suspend its atomic-bomb tests (71%), while only one out of ten (10%) does not want the U.S. to make such an offer.

Such results, of course, must not be considered surprising in view of the known West German attitude that atomic-bomb tests endanger the health of mankind, and that atomic energy (as a whole) is more of a curse than a boon. (It is interesting to contrast these results with those from a similar question posed in the U.S. There 60 per cent were against test suspensions, while 29 per cent were in favor of them.)

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
|                   | <u>West Germany</u> |
|                   | (930)               |
| Yes, it should    | 71%                 |
| No, it should not | 10                  |
| No opinion        | 19                  |
|                   | <u>100%</u>         |

THOSE FAVORING U.S. A-BOMB TEST SUSPENSION DO SO BELIEVING THAT IT WOULD NOT BE TO THE MILITARY DISADVANTAGE OF THE U.S. ...

That seven-tenths of the population which wished the U.S. to stop its atomic-bomb tests was also asked whether they believed that such an offer would be a military disadvantage for the United States. Four out of seven in this group (or 39% of the total sample) replied that it would not be to the U.S.'s military disadvantage, while one out of seven (12%) did see it as a military disadvantage.

It would be interesting if it were possible to pursue this situation a little further and determine whether the responses are based upon a belief that the U.S. is so much stronger militarily that it could well afford the move; whether it is based on a belief that the U.S. is weaker, and so it would not make any difference to the U.S., but would benefit "mankind"; or whether they simply have not connected the two issues. Unfortunately, with the few questions at our disposal, we can go no further.

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

IF "Yes, it should":

"Would the offer to stop atomic-bomb tests be a military disadvantage for the United States or not?"

|            | <u>West Germany</u><br>(930) |
|------------|------------------------------|
| Yes        | 12%                          |
| No         | 39                           |
| No opinion | <u>20</u><br>71%             |

"RUSSIANS ARE NOT TO BE TRUSTED" - LEADING REASON ADVANCED BY THOSE SAYING U.S. SHOULD NOT OFFER TO SUSPEND ITS TESTS ...

Among that small group (10% of the total population) which did not want the U.S. to offer to suspend its A-bomb tests, one out of two advanced as their reason for saying that that "the Russians are not to be trusted" (5%) - a point which apparently did not occur to the great majority which wanted the U.S. to stop its tests.

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

IF "No, it should not":

"Could you please tell me why you are of this opinion?"

West Germany  
(930)

The Russians are not to be trusted. They will continue nuclear tests anyway:

5%

"The Russians are not to be trusted."

"I think the U.S. should not offer to stop nuclear tests because the Russians will not keep their promises."

"The Russians can keep their atomic-bomb tests secret."

"There's no way to control the Russians."

"The Russians will continue to produce atomic weapons anyhow."

The Americans lag behind. They have to catch up with the Russians first:

2

"The Americans must first catch up with the Russians."

"I am of the opinion that the U.S. will have to catch up with the Russians who are considerably ahead in the field of nuclear research."

"If we are to finally live in peace, America must become stronger."

Such an offer is useless, they will never agree:

1

"Nothing positive will ever come of it."

"They'll still never agree."

"That won't help either."

Other answers:

1

"I think they should both stop their atomic tests."

"If Russia continues its atomic tests, America must do the same."

No opinion/No answer:

1  
10%

ONLY WHEN IDEA OF MUTUAL CONTROL SYSTEM INTRODUCED, DOES MAJORITY WANT U.S. TO CONTINUE TESTS UNTIL IT IS ACHIEVED ...

While seven out of ten West Germans had indicated their desire for the U.S. to abandon its tests of atomic bombs, when the idea of a mutual control system was brought into the consideration, a majority (54%) turned around and indicated their desire for the U.S. to continue its tests until such a system of inspection was reached.

Roughly one-quarter are to be found (24%) willing to ignore or overlook the features of a mutual control system in favor of suspension of tests at any price.

"In your opinion, should the United States keep insisting on a mutual control system before suspending its atomic-bomb tests, or should it no longer insist on a mutual control system but discontinue its tests anyway?"

|   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
|   | <u>West Germany</u><br>(930) |
| Should keep insisting on a control system                             | 54%                          |
| Should no longer insist on a control system but discontinue its tests | 24                           |
| No opinion  | 22                           |
|   | <u>100%</u>                  |

EVEN THOSE WHO HAD SAID U.S. SHOULD SUSPEND TESTS, WANT U.S. TO CONTINUE UNTIL INSPECTION SYSTEM WORKED OUT ...

The results just presented above, namely that a majority would like the U.S. to continue with its tests until a mutual control system is achieved, might at first glance be suspected as a flat contradiction of the earlier table which showed that seven out of ten want the U.S. also to offer to stop atomic-bomb tests. When the responses to the two questions are cross-tabulated, this suspicion might be considered as confirmed. Majorities are found in favor of the U.S. insisting on a control system before suspending its tests not only among those who had previously opposed the U.S. stopping its tests (76% among that group) but also among those who had voted in favor of such suspension (59%).

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

|                   |                      |               |
|-------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| Yes,<br>it should | No, it<br>should not | No<br>opinion |
| (660)             | (91)                 | (179)         |

"In your opinion, should the United States keep insisting on a mutual control system before suspending its atomic-bomb tests, or should it no longer insist on a mutual control system but discontinue its tests anyway?"

|   |             |             |             |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Should keep insisting on a control system                             | 59%         | 76%         | 27%         |
| Should no longer insist on a control system but discontinue its tests | 30          | 10          | 9           |
| No opinion  | 11          | 14          | 64          |
|   | <u>100%</u> | <u>100%</u> | <u>100%</u> |

The two results, however, should not be viewed as contradicting each other, but rather as confirmation of the public's attitude toward atomic tests (and indeed toward the whole field of atomic energy). That is, they wish to see an end to the various factors which they view as threats to mankind. In that light, they would also like the U.S. to end its tests (which they consider as endangering the health of future generations). When the idea of a mutual control is suggested, in the wording of the question, then majorities favor that - since it is an improvement, a more fool-proof way to ensure that this danger to mankind does not in fact take place. Such a reaction indicates the manner in which the United States must present itself before the German population in order to meet popular desires in this area.

Section III - Confidence in Possibilities of Suspension

ONLY ONE OUT OF FIVE CONFIDENT THAT TESTS WILL BE SUSPENDED ...

Popular confidence that the Big Powers actually will stop their atomic-bomb tests is not particularly high despite their obviously great desire that such tests be ended. Their skepticism on the prospect can be seen in popular reactions to the several questions which were posed to them asking for their expectations in this general area.

The first such question asked how confident they were that Russia will actually discontinue its atomic tests (as announced). In their replies, one person out of five (23%) said that he had a fair measure of confidence (very or fairly confident) that Russia would really stop, while three out of five (63%) indicated little faith in the Russian offer materializing.

"How confident are you that Russia will actually discontinue its atomic-bomb tests? (Are you very confident fairly confident, only a little confident, or not at all confident?)"

|                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
|                         | <u>West Germany</u> |
|                         | (930)               |
| Very confident          | 6% } 23%            |
| Fairly confident        | 17 }                |
| Only a little confident | 34 } 63             |
| Not at all confident    | 29 }                |
| No opinion              | 14                  |
|                         | <u>100%</u>         |
| <u>NET OPINION</u>      | -40                 |

A second question shifted the focus slightly and asked the respondent to consider the general problem of test suspensions, if there would be no agreement on a method of international control. As might be expected under such conditions, the amount of confidence registered is somewhat less than that recorded for the preceding query, but still on the same level. One out of five (19%) expressed confidence, while approximately two-thirds (66%) registered pessimism of the prospects.

"If you consider the atomic-bomb issue as a whole - how confident are you then that such tests will actually be discontinued, if there is no agreement on international control? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident, or not at all confident?)"

|                         |                              |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
|                         | <u>West Germany</u><br>(930) |
| Very confident          | 4% } 19%                     |
| Fairly confident        | 15 }                         |
| Only a little confident | 36 } 66                      |
| Not at all confident    | 30 }                         |
| No opinion              | 15<br><u>100%</u>            |
| <u>NET OPINION</u>      | -47                          |

Another way to observe the slightly greater pessimism assigned to the prospects of test suspensions when reminded that there is no agreement on an international control system, is to compare the Net Opinion scores. These scores have been calculated by subtracting the percentage being "very" or "fairly confident" from those who were "only a little" or "not at all confident".

While the slight percentage shifts in confidence are more readily seen this way (i.e. the difference in Net Opinion scores is larger), the difference between the Net Score on the first question (-40) and on the second (-47) is not large enough to be considered statistically significant.



EVEN THOSE ORIGINALLY CONFIDENT RUSSIA WOULD STOP TESTS UNCERTAIN ON GENERAL ISSUE WHEN ABSENCE OF CONTROL SYSTEM BROUGHT UP ...

The fact that the answers to the two preceding questions were largely identical should not lead one to suppose that individuals could not differentiate between the two queries and so gave the same answer to both questions.

The following cross-tabulation (of the two questions) shows that among those who originally had little confidence that Russia would actually stop her atomic-bomb tests, the overwhelming majority (84%) were pessimistic concerning the world's chances of having tests stop as long as there was no agreement on mutual control.

The optimism of those who were at first inclined to say that they had some confidence that Russia would actually cease her tests is found shaken on the second issue, for they split rather evenly with as many registering little confidence that tests would be stopped without international control as there are still persisting in their views that tests will stop (47% and 49% respectively).

"How confident are you that Russia will actually discontinue its atomic-bomb tests? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident or not at all confident?)"

| Very/<br>Fairly<br>confident | Only a little/<br>Not at all<br>confident | No<br>opinion |
|------------------------------|---|---------------|
| (206)                        | (592)                                     | (132)         |

"If you consider the atomic-bomb test issue as a whole - how confident are you then that such tests will actually be discontinued, if there is no agreement on international control? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident or not at all confident?)"

|                                    |      |      |      |
|------------------------------------|------|------|------|
| Very/Fairly confident              | 49%  | 12%  | 5%   |
| Only a little/Not at all confident | 47   | 84   | 14   |
| No opinion                         | 4    | 4    | 81   |
|                                    | 100% | 100% | 100% |

LESS THAN ONE OUT OF FIVE CALLS SUSPENSION VALUABLE WITHOUT CONTROL  
OVER PRODUCTION OF A-BOMBS ...

Yet another question similar in scope to the two we have been considering is the query asking for the value which they would place upon the suspension of atomic-bomb tests without control over the production of atomic bombs.

As in the other pattern of replies, roughly one out of five (here actually 16%) said that they would consider that of "great" or "very great value", while three out of five (62%) called it of "little" or "very little value". Thus the Net Opinion score on this question (-46) is completely in keeping with those for the other questions.

"Of how much value is the suspension of atomic-bomb tests, in your opinion, if there is no control over the production of atomic bombs? (Very great value, great value, only a little or very little value?)"

|                     |                              |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
|                     | <u>West Germany</u><br>(930) |
| Very great value    | 6% } 16%                     |
| Great value         | 10 }                         |
| Only a little value | 26 } 62                      |
| Very little value   | 36 }                         |
| No opinion          | 22<br><u>100%</u>            |
| <u>NET OPINION</u>  | -46                          |

LITTLE VALUE SEEN IN TEST SUSPENSION WITHOUT CONTROL OF PRODUCTION  
REGARDLESS OF DESIRE THAT U.S. STOP ITS TESTS ...

Further confirmation of the thesis suggested earlier that the West German population is in favor of any proposal which seems to offer an end to the nightmare of atomic warfare, so that they will approve of unilateral test suspension at the same time they approve of having better safeguards before such suspensions (by the U.S.) are agreed to, is found in the table below.

The following cross-tabulation presents the results when responses to the question on the value assigned to test suspension without control of production are tabulated according to opinion on having the U.S. also offer to stop its tests.

Even among that great majority which had wanted the U.S. to stop its tests, two out of three (66%) see little value in test suspensions when there is no control over production. Of course among those who had not wanted the U.S. to end its tests, it is not as surprising perhaps to find that more than eight out of ten (83%) see little value in test suspension without production controls. In attempting to understand these results, the interpretation is again offered that the populace is indicating its acceptance of even better methods of achieving what for it is a primary goal - the removal of the fear of atomic explosions (whether in war or peace).

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

|   | Yes,<br><u>it should</u><br>(660) | No, it<br><u>should not</u><br>(91) | No<br><u>opinion</u><br>(179) |
|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| "Of how much value is the suspension of atomic-bomb tests, in your opinion, if there is no control over the production of atomic bombs? (Very great value, great value, only a little or very little value?)" |                                   |                                     |                               |
| Very great/Great value  | 21%                               | 10%                                 | 3%                            |
| Only a little/Very little value   | 66                                | 83                                  | 36                            |
| No opinion  | <u>13</u>                         | <u>7</u>                            | <u>61</u>                     |
|   | 100%                              | 100%                                | 100%                          |

EVEN THOSE WITH CONFIDENCE IN TEST SUSPENSION WITHOUT INSPECTION SEE  
LITTLE VALUE IN SUSPENSION WITHOUT CONTROL OF PRODUCTION ...

The appeal of each additional means of securing the population against atomic explosions is again seen in the opinions of those who expressed confidence in the actual suspension of atomic tests without international inspection when the value of such suspension was raised in connection with the control of the production of atomic weapons. In the face of this additional desirable goal, a majority (56%), among that small group which had persisted in seeing something desirable in having test suspensions without inspection, then admits that there is little value to test suspensions if there is no control exercised over the production of atomic bombs.

"If you consider the atomic-bomb test issue as a whole - how confident are you then that such tests will actually be discontinued, if there is no agreement on international control? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident or not at all confident?)

| Very/<br>Fairly<br>confident | Only a little/<br>Not at all<br>confident | No<br>opinion |
|------------------------------|---|---------------|
| <u>(176)</u>                 | <u>(614)</u>                              | <u>(140)</u>  |

"Of how much value is the suspension of atomic-bomb tests, in your opinion if there is no control over the production of atomic bombs? (Very great value, great value, only a little or very little value?)"

|                                 |          |           |           |
|---------------------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Very great/Great value          | 35%      | 12%       | 9%        |
| Only a little/Very little value | 56       | 75        | 16        |
| No opinion                      | <u>9</u> | <u>13</u> | <u>75</u> |
|                                 | 100%     | 100%      | 100%      |
| <u>NET OPINION</u>              | -21      | -63       |           |

AWARENESS OF RUSSIAN PROPOSAL HAS LITTLE TO DO WITH LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE ...  
 WHETHER AWARE OR NOT, TWO-THIRDS EXPRESS LITTLE CONFIDENCE ...

It is noteworthy that whether they claim to have heard of the Russian offer (to suspend atomic-bomb tests) or not, two out of three are found to have little or no confidence either that Russia will actually suspend her tests, or that such tests will be suspended without an agreement on international control.

A slight difference in Net Opinion is to be seen, however, on the more immediate question of the Russian offer, in that those who claimed knowledge of the Russian offer while just as pessimistic as those who said they did not know about it, were also somewhat more inclined than the others to express confidence in the Russian offer. Thus, among those claiming knowledge one-third (33%) expressed confidence; as opposed to be but half that amount (18%) among those who had not heard about it. As a result, the Net Opinion score for those with knowledge is -29, while for those without knowledge it is -46, despite the fact that almost identical percentages are found in both groups expressing little confidence (62% and 64%).

"Have you ever heard or read of any new Russian proposals on disarmament or atomic energy?"

| Yes   | No    |
|-------|-------|
| (274) | (656) |

"How confident are you that Russia will actually discontinue its atomic-bomb tests? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident or not at all confident?)"

|                                    |      |      |
|------------------------------------|------|------|
| Very/Fairly confident              | 33%  | 18%  |
| Only a little/Not at all confident | 62   | 64   |
| No opinion                         | 5    | 18   |
|                                    | 100% | 100% |
| <u>NET OPINION</u>                 | -29  | -46  |

On the further question of test suspension without international control, the entire pattern of replies of those with claimed knowledge and those without is similar. The Net Opinion scores of the two groups are revealed to be -42 and -50.

"Have you ever heard or read of any new Russian proposals on disarmament or atomic energy?"

|       |       |
|-------|-------|
| Yes   | No    |
| (274) | (656) |

"If you consider the atomic-bomb test issue as a whole - how confident are you then that such tests will actually be discontinued, if there is no agreement on international control? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident, or not at all confident?)"

|                                    |             |             |
|------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Very/Fairly confident              | 27%         | 15%         |
| Only a little/Not at all confident | 69          | 65          |
| No opinion                         | 4           | 20          |
|                                    | <u>100%</u> | <u>100%</u> |
| <u>NET OPINION</u>                 | -42         | -50         |

#### Section IV - Expectations Concerning A Summit Conference

ONE OUT OF TWO CONSIDERS A SUMMIT CONFERENCE PROBABLE ...

While one-half (49%) of the West German population (as of May 1958) considered a Summit Conference still more probable than improbable, the other half of the population is not so sure. That 51 per cent which did not call a conference probable split between those who felt a conference was more unlikely (28%) and those who did not know what the future might hold (23% with no opinion on the question).

"When you consider present political developments, do you think it probable or improbable that a Summit Conference will actually take place? (Very probable or probable?) (Not so probable or very improbable?)"

|                 | <u>West Germany</u><br>(930) |
|-----------------|------------------------------|
| Very probable   | 10% )                        |
| Probable        | 39% ) 49%                    |
| Not so probable | 20% )                        |
| Very improbable | 8% ) 28% )                   |
| No opinion      | 23% ) 51%                    |
|                 | <u>100%</u>                  |

It will be interesting to repeat this question in the coming months in the light of developments, as a measure of expectation regarding the holding of a Summit Conference since we are well aware of popular desire for such a meeting.





A P P E N D I X

A P P E N D I X

(Groupbreaks)

"Have you ever heard or read of any new Russian proposals  
on disarmament or atomic energy?"

|                               | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u>  | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|-------------------------------|------------|------------|---------------------|
| <u>West Germany</u>           | 30%        | 70%...100% | 930                 |
| <u>Sex:</u>                   |            |            |                     |
| Men                           | 44         | 56         | 423                 |
| Women                         | 18         | 82         | 507                 |
| <u>Education:</u>             |            |            |                     |
| Elementary school             | 27         | 73         | 784                 |
| Secondary school w/o diploma  | 39         | 61         | 116                 |
| Diploma/university            | 50         | 50         | 30                  |
| <u>Income:</u>                |            |            |                     |
| Up to 149 DM                  | 18         | 82         | 33                  |
| 150 to 249 DM                 | 17         | 83         | 77                  |
| 250 to 399 DM                 | 25         | 75         | 155                 |
| 400 to 499 DM                 | 29         | 71         | 180                 |
| 500 DM and more               | 36         | 64         | 346                 |
| No answer                     | 29         | 71         | 139                 |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u> |            |            |                     |
| Upper middle and well-to-do   | 38         | 62         | 121                 |
| Lower middle                  | 31         | 69         | 566                 |
| Poor                          | 22         | 78         | 243                 |
| <u>Age:</u>                   |            |            |                     |
| Up to 24 years                | 29         | 71         | 112                 |
| 25 to 34 years                | 28         | 72         | 158                 |
| 35 to 44 years                | 30         | 70         | 194                 |
| 45 to 54 years                | 26         | 74         | 198                 |
| 55 years and over             | 32         | 68         | 268                 |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>      |            |            |                     |
| SPD                           | 34         | 66         | 235                 |
| CDU/CSU                       | 25         | 75         | 307                 |
| FDP                           | 46         | 54         | 54                  |
| Other parties                 | 38         | 62         | 29                  |
| No party                      | 26         | 74         | 110                 |
| No opinion                    | 28         | 72         | 195                 |
| <u>Occupation:</u>            |            |            |                     |
| Professionals                 | 40         | 60         | 10                  |
| Businessmen                   | 37         | 63         | 57                  |
| White-collar workers          | 41         | 59         | 132                 |
| Skilled laborers              | 39         | 61         | 124                 |
| Semi-skilled laborers         | 33         | 67         | 134                 |
| Farmers; farmhands            | 36         | 64         | 47                  |
| Housewives                    | 16         | 84         | 332                 |
| Pensioners; retired           | 32         | 68         | 78                  |
| Students; apprentices         | 37         | 63         | 16                  |
| <u>Origin:</u>                |            |            |                     |
| Natives                       | 29         | 71         | 720                 |
| Expellees; refugees           | 31         | 69         | 210                 |
| <u>Religion:</u>              |            |            |                     |
| Catholics                     | 28         | 72         | 402                 |
| Protestants                   | 29         | 71         | 487                 |
| Others                        | 36         | 64         | 11                  |
| No religion                   | 37         | 63         | 30                  |

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

|                        | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u>  | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|------------------------|------------|------------|-------------------------|
| <u>City Size:</u>      |            |            |                         |
| Up to 1,999            | 33%        | 67%...100% | 246                     |
| 2,000 to 19,999        | 29         | 71         | 276                     |
| 20,000 to 99,999       | 29         | 71         | 144                     |
| 100,000 and over       | 27         | 73         | 264                     |
| <u>Land:</u>           |            |            |                         |
| Schleswig/Holstein,    |            |            |                         |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 25         | 75         | 91                      |
| Lower Saxony           | 31         | 69         | 124                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 27         | 73         | 267                     |
| Hesse                  | 41         | 59         | 73                      |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   | 30         | 70         | 73                      |
| Baden Wuerttemberg     | 40         | 60         | 134                     |
| Bavaria                | 21         | 79         | 168                     |

"Are you of the opinion that America should also offer  
to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not  
make this offer?"

|                               | <u>Yes,<br/>it should</u> | <u>No, it<br/>should not</u> | <u>No opinion</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>West Germany</u>           | 71%                       | 10%                          | 19%...100%        | 930                     |
| <u>Sex:</u>                   |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| Men                           | 74                        | 13                           | 13                | 423                     |
| Women                         | 69                        | 7                            | 24                | 507                     |
| <u>Education:</u>             |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| Elementary school             | 71                        | 9                            | 20                | 784                     |
| Secondary school w/o diploma  | 72                        | 12                           | 16                | 116                     |
| Diploma/university            | 77                        | 10                           | 13                | 30                      |
| <u>Income:</u>                |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| Up to 149 DM                  | 70                        | 6                            | 24                | 33                      |
| 150 to 249 DM                 | 59                        | 6                            | 35                | 77                      |
| 250 to 399 DM                 | 68                        | 8                            | 24                | 155                     |
| 400 to 499 DM                 | 72                        | 12                           | 16                | 180                     |
| 500 DM and more               | 79                        | 9                            | 12                | 346                     |
| No answer                     | 61                        | 14                           | 25                | 139                     |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u> |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| Upper middle and well-to-do   | 69                        | 10                           | 21                | 121                     |
| Lower middle                  | 74                        | 10                           | 16                | 566                     |
| Poor                          | 66                        | 9                            | 25                | 243                     |
| <u>Age:</u>                   |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| Up to 24 years                | 75                        | 13                           | 12                | 112                     |
| 25 to 34 years                | 74                        | 8                            | 18                | 158                     |
| 35 to 44 years                | 72                        | 11                           | 17                | 194                     |
| 45 to 54 years                | 74                        | 7                            | 19                | 198                     |
| 55 years and over             | 64                        | 11                           | 25                | 268                     |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>      |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| SPD                           | 83                        | 6                            | 11                | 235                     |
| CDU/CSU                       | 67                        | 14                           | 19                | 307                     |
| FDP                           | 9                         | 2                            | 7                 | 54                      |
| Other parties                 | 62                        | 31                           | 7                 | 29                      |
| No party                      | 70                        | 9                            | 21                | 110                     |
| No opinion                    | 60                        | 7                            | 33                | 195                     |
| <u>Occupation:</u>            |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| Professionals                 | 70                        | 10                           | 20                | 10                      |
| Businessmen                   | 75                        | 11                           | 14                | 57                      |
| White-collar workers          | 76                        | 9                            | 15                | 132                     |
| Skilled laborers              | 80                        | 10                           | 10                | 124                     |
| Semi-skilled laborers         | 69                        | 10                           | 21                | 134                     |
| Farmers; farmhands            | 55                        | 24                           | 21                | 47                      |
| Housewives                    | 67                        | 8                            | 25                | 332                     |
| Pensioners; retired           | 71                        | 10                           | 19                | 78                      |
| Students; apprentices         | 81                        | 6                            | 13                | 16                      |
| <u>Origin:</u>                |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| Natives                       | 71                        | 10                           | 19                | 720                     |
| Expellees; refugees           | 69                        | 11                           | 20                | 210                     |
| <u>Religion:</u>              |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| Catholics                     | 67                        | 10                           | 23                | 402                     |
| Protestants                   | 75                        | 9                            | 16                | 487                     |
| Others                        | 45                        | 18                           | 37                | 11                      |
| No religion                   | 80                        | 10                           | 10                | 30                      |

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

|                        | <u>Yes,<br/>it should</u> | <u>No, it<br/>should not</u> | <u>No opinion</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>City Size:</u>      |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| Up to 1,999            | 69%                       | 11%                          | 20%...100%        | 246                     |
| 2,000 to 19,999        | 71                        | 7                            | 22                | 276                     |
| 20,000 to 99,999       | 73                        | 9                            | 18                | 144                     |
| 100,000 and over       | 72                        | 11                           | 17                | 264                     |
| <u>Land:</u>           |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| Schleswig.Holstein,    |                           |                              |                   |                         |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 77                        | 11                           | 12                | 91                      |
| Lower Saxony           | 65                        | 12                           | 23                | 124                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 70                        | 8                            | 22                | 267                     |
| Hesse                  | 81                        | 11                           | 8                 | 73                      |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   | 74                        | 10                           | 16                | 73                      |
| Baden/Wuerttemberg     | 76                        | 12                           | 12                | 134                     |
| Bavaria                | 64                        | 8                            | 28                | 168                     |

"Are you of the opinion that America should offer to suspend atomic-bomb tests? Or should America not make this offer?"

IF "Yes, it should":

"Would the offer to stop atomic-bomb tests be a military disadvantage for the United States or not?"

|                               | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>No opinion</u> | <u>Not asked</u> | <u>No. of cases</u> |
|-------------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| <u>West Germany</u>           | 12%        | 39%       | 20%               | 29%...100%       | 930                 |
| <u>Sex:</u>                   |            |           |                   |                  |                     |
| Men                           | 15         | 46        | 13                | 26               | 423                 |
| Women                         | 10         | 34        | 25                | 31               | 507                 |
| <u>Education:</u>             |            |           |                   |                  |                     |
| Elementary school             | 10         | 40        | 21                | 29               | 784                 |
| Secondary school w/o diploma  | 19         | 37        | 16                | 28               | 116                 |
| Diploma/university            | 30         | 37        | 10                | 23               | 30                  |
| <u>Income:</u>                |            |           |                   |                  |                     |
| Up to 149 DM                  | 15         | 34        | 21                | 30               | 33                  |
| 150 to 249 DM                 | 7          | 26        | 26                | 41               | 77                  |
| 250 to 399 DM                 | 9          | 41        | 18                | 32               | 155                 |
| 400 to 499 DM                 | 14         | 41        | 17                | 28               | 180                 |
| 500 DM and more               | 15         | 44        | 20                | 21               | 346                 |
| No answer                     | 9          | 32        | 20                | 39               | 139                 |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u> |            |           |                   |                  |                     |
| Upper middle and well-to-do   | 16         | 38        | 15                | 31               | 121                 |
| Lower middle                  | 12         | 42        | 20                | 26               | 566                 |
| Poor                          | 11         | 33        | 22                | 34               | 243                 |
| <u>Age:</u>                   |            |           |                   |                  |                     |
| Up to 24 years                | 9          | 44        | 22                | 25               | 112                 |
| 25 to 34 years                | 11         | 44        | 19                | 26               | 158                 |
| 35 to 44 years                | 11         | 41        | 20                | 28               | 194                 |
| 45 to 54 years                | 17         | 38        | 19                | 26               | 198                 |
| 55 years and over             | 12         | 33        | 19                | 36               | 268                 |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>      |            |           |                   |                  |                     |
| SPD                           | 13         | 52        | 18                | 17               | 235                 |
| CDU/CSU                       | 12         | 39        | 16                | 33               | 307                 |
| FDP                           | 22         | 39        | 30                | 9                | 54                  |
| Other parties                 | 17         | 35        | 10                | 38               | 29                  |
| No party                      | 11         | 44        | 15                | 30               | 110                 |
| No opinion                    | 9          | 23        | 28                | 40               | 195                 |
| <u>Occupation:</u>            |            |           |                   |                  |                     |
| Professionals                 | 10         | 30        | 30                | 30               | 10                  |
| Businessmen                   | 10         | 46        | 19                | 25               | 57                  |
| White-collar workers          | 14         | 48        | 14                | 24               | 132                 |
| Skilled laborers              | 14         | 56        | 10                | 20               | 124                 |
| Semi-skilled laborers         | 16         | 35        | 18                | 31               | 134                 |
| Farmers; farmhands            | 6          | 34        | 15                | 45               | 47                  |
| Housewives                    | 11         | 32        | 24                | 33               | 332                 |
| Pensioners; retired           | 6          | 39        | 26                | 29               | 78                  |
| Students; apprentices         | 12         | 38        | 31                | 19               | 16                  |
| <u>Origin:</u>                |            |           |                   |                  |                     |
| Natives                       | 11         | 40        | 20                | 29               | 720                 |
| Expellees; refugees           | 14         | 36        | 19                | 31               | 210                 |
| <u>Religion:</u>              |            |           |                   |                  |                     |
| Catholics                     | 11         | 39        | 17                | 33               | 402                 |
| Protestants                   | 13         | 40        | 22                | 25               | 487                 |
| Others                        | 9          | 27        | 9                 | 55               | 11                  |
| No religion                   | 7          | 53        | 20                | 20               | 30                  |

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

|  | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>No<br/>opinion</u> | <u>Not asked</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|--|------------|-----------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>City Size:</u>                      |            |           |                       |                  |                         |
| Up to 1,999                            | 10%        | 38%       | 21%                   | 31%...100%       | 246                     |
| 2,000 to 19,999                        | 14         | 39        | 18                    | 29               | 276                     |
| 20,000 to 99,999                       | 14         | 39        | 20                    | 27               | 144                     |
| 100,000 and over                       | 12         | 41        | 19                    | 28               | 264                     |
| <u>Land:</u>                           |            |           |                       |                  |                         |
| Schleswig/Holstein,<br>Hamburg, Bremen | 13         | 45        | 19                    | 23               | 91                      |
| Lower Saxony                           | 12         | 38        | 15                    | 35               | 124                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia                 | 14         | 37        | 19                    | 30               | 267                     |
| Hesse                                  | 16         | 30        | 35                    | 19               | 73                      |
| Rhineland/Palatinate                   | 10         | 44        | 20                    | 26               | 73                      |
| Baden/Wuerttemberg                     | 10         | 44        | 22                    | 24               | 134                     |
| Bavaria                                | 10         | 38        | 16                    | 36               | 168                     |

"In your opinion, should the United States keep insisting on a mutual control system before suspending its atomic-bomb tests, or should it no longer insist on a mutual control system but discontinue its tests anyway?"

|                               | Should keep<br>insisting<br>on a con-<br>trol system | Should<br>no longer<br>insist on a<br>control system<br>but discontinue<br>its tests | No opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|-------------------------------|--|--|------------|-----------------|
| <u>West Germany</u>           | 54%  | 24%  | 22%...100% | 930             |
| <u>Sex:</u>                   |  |  |            |                 |
| Men                           | 62   | 24   | 14         | 423             |
| Women                         | 49   | 23   | 28         | 507             |
| <u>Education:</u>             |  |  |            |                 |
| Elementary school             | 51   | 25   | 24         | 784             |
| Secondary school w/o diploma  | 70   | 20   | 10         | 116             |
| Diploma/university            | 80   | 10   | 10         | 30              |
| <u>Income:</u>                |  |  |            |                 |
| Up to 149 DM                  | 46   | 30   | 24         | 33              |
| 150 to 249 DM                 | 46   | 18   | 36         | 77              |
| 250 to 399 DM                 | 55   | 20   | 25         | 155             |
| 400 to 499 DM                 | 50   | 31   | 19         | 180             |
| 500 DM and more               | 61   | 24   | 15         | 346             |
| No answer                     | 51   | 20   | 29         | 139             |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u> |  |  |            |                 |
| Upper middle and well-to-do   | 57   | 23   | 20         | 121             |
| Lower middle                  | 57   | 24   | 19         | 566             |
| Poor                          | 49   | 23   | 28         | 243             |
| <u>Age:</u>                   |  |  |            |                 |
| Up to 24 years                | 66   | 19   | 15         | 112             |
| 25 to 34 years                | 57   | 25   | 18         | 158             |
| 35 to 44 years                | 55   | 21   | 24         | 194             |
| 45 to 54 years                | 51   | 28   | 21         | 198             |
| 55 years and over             | 51   | 24   | 25         | 268             |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>      |  |  |            |                 |
| SPD                           | 51   | 35   | 14         | 235             |
| CDU/CSU                       | 65   | 16   | 19         | 307             |
| FDP                           | 67   | 26   | 7          | 54              |
| Other parties                 | 72   | 14   | 14         | 29              |
| No party                      | 53   | 23   | 24         | 110             |
| No opinion                    | 37   | 24   | 39         | 195             |
| <u>Occupation:</u>            |  |  |            |                 |
| Professionals                 | 70   | 20   | 10         | 10              |
| Businessmen                   | 63   | 21   | 16         | 57              |
| White-collar workers          | 64   | 23   | 13         | 132             |
| Skilled laborers              | 58   | 31   | 11         | 124             |
| Semi-skilled laborers         | 54   | 24   | 22         | 134             |
| Farmers; farmhands            | 60   | 19   | 21         | 47              |
| Housewives                    | 49   | 20   | 31         | 332             |
| Pensioners; retired           | 42   | 35   | 23         | 78              |
| Students; apprentices         | 75   | 19   | 6          | 16              |
| <u>Origin:</u>                |  |  |            |                 |
| Natives                       | 54   | 24   | 22         | 720             |
| Expellees; refugees           | 55   | 24   | 21         | 210             |
| <u>Religion:</u>              |  |  |            |                 |
| Catholics                     | 55   | 21   | 24         | 402             |
| Protestants                   | 55   | 25   | 20         | 487             |
| Others                        | 55   | 18   | 27         | 11              |
| No religion                   | 47   | 43   | 10         | 30              |

(Cont'd on next page)



(Cont'd from preceding page)

|                        | Should keep<br>insisting<br>on a con-<br>trol system | Should<br>no longer<br>insist on a<br>control system<br>but discontinue<br>its tests | No opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|------------------------|--|--|------------|-----------------|
| <u>City Size:</u>      |  |  |            |                 |
| Up to 1,999            | 54%  | 22%  | 24%...100% | 246             |
| 2,000 to 19,999        | 60   | 17   | 23         | 276             |
| 20,000 to 99,999       | 53   | 28   | 19         | 144             |
| 100,000 and over       | 50   | 30   | 20         | 264             |
| <u>Land:</u>           |  |  |            |                 |
| Schleswig/Holstein,    |  |  |            |                 |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 49   | 37   | 14         | 91              |
| Lower Saxony           | 54   | 17   | 29         | 124             |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 57   | 22   | 21         | 267             |
| Hesse                  | 62   | 26   | 12         | 73              |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   | 58   | 19   | 23         | 73              |
| Baden/Wuerttemberg     | 59   | 24   | 17         | 134             |
| Bavaria                | 46   | 25   | 29         | 168             |

"How confident are you that Russia will actually discontinue its atomic-bomb tests? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident, or not at all confident?)"

|                               | Very/<br>Fairly<br>confident | Only a little/<br>Not at all<br>confident | No opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---|------------|-----------------|
| <u>West Germany</u>           | 23%                          | 63%                                       | 14%...100% | 930             |
| <u>Sex:</u>                   |                              |   |            |                 |
| Men                           | 25                           | 65  | 10         | 423             |
| Women                         | 20                           | 62  | 18         | 507             |
| <u>Education:</u>             |                              |   |            |                 |
| Elementary school             | 22                           | 62  | 16         | 784             |
| Secondary school w/o diploma  | 24                           | 68  | 8          | 116             |
| Diploma/university            | 17                           | 80  | 3          | 30              |
| <u>Income:</u>                |                              |   |            |                 |
| Up to 149 DM                  | 21                           | 58  | 21         | 33              |
| 150 to 249 DM                 | 13                           | 61  | 26         | 77              |
| 250 to 399 DM                 | 20                           | 65  | 15         | 155             |
| 400 to 499 DM                 | 25                           | 63  | 12         | 180             |
| 500 DM and more               | 24                           | 67  | 9          | 346             |
| No answer                     | 21                           | 60  | 19         | 139             |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u> |                              |   |            |                 |
| Upper middle and well-to-do   | 26                           | 59  | 15         | 121             |
| Lower middle                  | 22                           | 66  | 12         | 566             |
| Poor                          | 20                           | 60  | 20         | 243             |
| <u>Age:</u>                   |                              |   |            |                 |
| Up to 24 years                | 22                           | 65  | 13         | 112             |
| 25 to 34 years                | 26                           | 63  | 11         | 158             |
| 35 to 44 years                | 20                           | 65  | 15         | 194             |
| 45 to 54 years                | 22                           | 63  | 15         | 198             |
| 55 years and over             | 21                           | 64  | 15         | 268             |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>      |                              |   |            |                 |
| SPD                           | 33                           | 60  | 7          | 235             |
| CDU/CSU                       | 15                           | 75  | 10         | 307             |
| FDP                           | 43                           | 57  | -          | 54              |
| Other parties                 | 10                           | 76  | 14         | 29              |
| No party                      | 16                           | 73  | 11         | 110             |
| No opinion                    | 19                           | 47  | 34         | 195             |
| <u>Occupation:</u>            |                              |   |            |                 |
| Professionals                 | 30                           | 70  | -          | 10              |
| Businessmen                   | 28                           | 65  | 7          | 57              |
| White-collar workers          | 23                           | 64  | 13         | 132             |
| Skilled laborers              | 29                           | 63  | 8          | 124             |
| Semi-skilled laborers         | 24                           | 57  | 19         | 134             |
| Farmers; farmhands            | 15                           | 74  | 11         | 47              |
| Housewives                    | 18                           | 65  | 17         | 332             |
| Pensioners; retired           | 24                           | 60  | 16         | 78              |
| Students; apprentices         | 19                           | 75  | 6          | 16              |
| <u>Origin:</u>                |                              |   |            |                 |
| Natives                       | 23                           | 63  | 14         | 720             |
| Expellees; refugees           | 19                           | 68  | 13         | 210             |
| <u>Religion:</u>              |                              |   |            |                 |
| Catholics                     | 20                           | 66  | 14         | 402             |
| Protestants                   | 23                           | 63  | 14         | 487             |
| Others                        | 27                           | 46  | 27         | 11              |
| No religion                   | 37                           | 56  | 7          | 30              |

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

|                        | <u>Very/<br/>Fairly<br/>confident</u> | <u>Only a little/<br/>Not at all<br/>confident</u> | <u>No opinion</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|-------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>City Size:</u>      |                                       |  |                   |                         |
| Up to 1,999            | 22%                                   | 64%  | 14%...100%        | 246                     |
| 2,000 to 19,999        | 21                                    | 63   | 16                | 276                     |
| 20,000 to 99,999       | 29                                    | 58   | 13                | 144                     |
| 100,000 and over       | 19                                    | 68   | 13                | 264                     |
| <u>Land:</u>           |                                       |  |                   |                         |
| Schleswig/Holstein,    |                                       |  |                   |                         |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 26                                    | 63   | 11                | 91                      |
| Lower Saxony           | 20                                    | 65   | 15                | 124                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 21                                    | 65   | 14                | 267                     |
| Hesse                  | 23                                    | 66   | 11                | 73                      |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   | 26                                    | 59   | 15                | 73                      |
| Baden/Wuerttemberg     | 28                                    | 60   | 12                | 134                     |
| Bavaria                | 17                                    | 65   | 18                | 168                     |

"If you consider the atomic-bomb test issue as a whole - how confident are you then that such tests will actually be discontinued, if there is no agreement on international control? (Are you very confident, fairly confident, only a little confident, or not at all confident?)"

|                               | Very/<br>Fairly<br>confident | Only a little/<br>Not at all<br>confident | No opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---|------------|-----------------|
| <u>West Germany</u>           | 19%                          | 66%                                       | 15%...100% | 930             |
| <u>Sex:</u>                   |                              |   |            |                 |
| Men                           | 21                           | 69  | 10         | 423             |
| Women                         | 17                           | 63  | 20         | 507             |
| <u>Education:</u>             |                              |   |            |                 |
| Elementary school             | 18                           | 66  | 16         | 784             |
| Secondary school w/o diploma  | 29                           | 63  | 8          | 116             |
| Diploma/university            | 13                           | 80  | 7          | 30              |
| <u>Income:</u>                |                              |   |            |                 |
| Up to 149 DM                  | 18                           | 55  | 27         | 33              |
| 150 to 249 DM                 | 12                           | 58  | 30         | 77              |
| 250 to 399 DM                 | 14                           | 69  | 17         | 155             |
| 400 to 499 DM                 | 20                           | 69  | 11         | 180             |
| 500 DM and more               | 22                           | 68  | 10         | 346             |
| No answer                     | 21                           | 61  | 18         | 139             |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u> |                              |   |            |                 |
| Upper middle and well-to-do   | 24                           | 61  | 15         | 121             |
| Lower middle                  | 20                           | 68  | 12         | 566             |
| Poor                          | 15                           | 63  | 22         | 243             |
| <u>Age:</u>                   |                              |   |            |                 |
| Up to 24 years                | 24                           | 62  | 14         | 112             |
| 25 to 34 years                | 20                           | 68  | 12         | 158             |
| 35 to 44 years                | 19                           | 64  | 17         | 194             |
| 45 to 54 years                | 18                           | 67  | 15         | 198             |
| 55 years and over             | 17                           | 67  | 16         | 268             |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>      |                              |   |            |                 |
| SPD                           | 24                           | 68  | 8          | 235             |
| CDU/CSU                       | 17                           | 71  | 12         | 307             |
| FDP                           | 20                           | 80  | -          | 54              |
| Other parties                 | 17                           | 73  | 10         | 29              |
| No party                      | 13                           | 75  | 12         | 110             |
| No opinion                    | 18                           | 46  | 36         | 195             |
| <u>Occupation:</u>            |                              |   |            |                 |
| Professionals                 | 30                           | 70  | -          | 10              |
| Businessmen                   | 19                           | 74  | 7          | 57              |
| White-collar workers          | 25                           | 64  | 11         | 132             |
| Skilled laborers              | 17                           | 74  | 9          | 124             |
| Semi-skilled laborers         | 26                           | 58  | 16         | 134             |
| Farmers; farmhands            | 17                           | 68  | 15         | 47              |
| Housewives                    | 16                           | 65  | 19         | 332             |
| Pensioners; retired           | 16                           | 65  | 19         | 78              |
| Students; apprentices         | 6                            | 82  | 12         | 16              |
| <u>Origin:</u>                |                              |   |            |                 |
| Natives                       | 19                           | 66  | 15         | 720             |
| Expellees; refugees           | 17                           | 67  | 16         | 210             |
| <u>Religion:</u>              |                              |   |            |                 |
| Catholics                     | 18                           | 67  | 15         | 402             |
| Protestants                   | 19                           | 66  | 15         | 487             |
| Others                        | 27                           | 27  | 46         | 11              |
| No religion                   | 30                           | 60  | 10         | 30              |

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

|                        | Very/<br>Fairly<br>confident | Only a little/<br>Not at all<br>confident | No opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|------------------------|------------------------------|---|------------|-----------------|
| <u>City Size:</u>      |                              |   |            |                 |
| Up to 1,999            | 17%                          | 67%                                       | 16%...100% | 246             |
| 2,000 to 19,999        | 17                           | 65  | 18         | 276             |
| 20,000 to 99,999       | 24                           | 62  | 14         | 144             |
| 100,000 and over       | 20                           | 69  | 11         | 264             |
| <u>Land:</u>           |                              |   |            |                 |
| Schleswig/Holstein,    |                              |   |            |                 |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 18                           | 73  | 9          | 91              |
| Lower Saxony           | 10                           | 72  | 18         | 124             |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 19                           | 65  | 16         | 267             |
| Hesse                  | 26                           | 66  | 8          | 73              |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   | 25                           | 56  | 19         | 73              |
| Baden/Wuerttemberg     | 25                           | 62  | 13         | 134             |
| Bavaria                | 15                           | 67  | 18         | 168             |

"Of how much value is the suspension of atomic-bomb tests, in your opinion, if there is no control over the production of atomic bombs? (Very great value, great value, only a little or very little value?)"

|                               | Very great/<br>Great value | Only a little/<br>Very little<br>value | No<br>opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------|-----------------|
| <u>West Germany</u>           | 16%                        | 62%                                    | 22%...100%    | 930             |
| <u>Sex:</u>                   |                            |  |               |                 |
| Men                           | 18                         | 70                                     | 12            | 423             |
| Women                         | 15                         | 55                                     | 30            | 507             |
| <u>Education:</u>             |                            |  |               |                 |
| Elementary school             | 17                         | 59                                     | 24            | 784             |
| Secondary school w/o diploma  | 11                         | 76                                     | 13            | 116             |
| Diploma/university            | 13                         | 77                                     | 10            | 30              |
| <u>Income:</u>                |                            |  |               |                 |
| Up to 149 DM                  | 24                         | 30                                     | 46            | 33              |
| 150 to 249 DM                 | 14                         | 44                                     | 42            | 77              |
| 250 to 399 DM                 | 12                         | 64                                     | 24            | 155             |
| 400 to 499 DM                 | 15                         | 67                                     | 18            | 180             |
| 500 DM and more               | 18                         | 67                                     | 15            | 346             |
| No answer                     | 17                         | 59                                     | 24            | 139             |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u> |                            |  |               |                 |
| Upper middle and well-to-do   | 14                         | 65                                     | 21            | 121             |
| Lower middle                  | 16                         | 67                                     | 17            | 566             |
| Poor                          | 18                         | 49                                     | 33            | 243             |
| <u>Age:</u>                   |                            |  |               |                 |
| Up to 24 years                | 18                         | 68                                     | 14            | 112             |
| 25 to 34 years                | 17                         | 65                                     | 18            | 158             |
| 35 to 44 years                | 21                         | 57                                     | 22            | 194             |
| 45 to 54 years                | 13                         | 65                                     | 22            | 198             |
| 55 years and over             | 14                         | 58                                     | 28            | 268             |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>      |                            |  |               |                 |
| SPD                           | 23                         | 63                                     | 14            | 235             |
| CDU/CSU                       | 17                         | 69                                     | 18            | 307             |
| FDP                           | 24                         | 69                                     | 7             | 54              |
| Other parties                 | -                          | 83                                     | 17            | 29              |
| No party                      | 16                         | 58                                     | 26            | 110             |
| No opinion                    | 13                         | 47                                     | 40            | 195             |
| <u>Occupation:</u>            |                            |  |               |                 |
| Professionals                 | 10                         | 70                                     | 20            | 10              |
| Businessmen                   | 12                         | 67                                     | 21            | 57              |
| White-collar workers          | 15                         | 70                                     | 15            | 132             |
| Skilled laborers              | 21                         | 69                                     | 10            | 124             |
| Semi-skilled laborers         | 19                         | 63                                     | 18            | 134             |
| Farmers; farmhands            | 19                         | 68                                     | 13            | 47              |
| Housewives                    | 15                         | 53                                     | 32            | 332             |
| Pensioners; retired           | 14                         | 60                                     | 26            | 78              |
| Students; apprentices         | 13                         | 81                                     | 6             | 16              |
| <u>Origin:</u>                |                            |  |               |                 |
| Natives                       | 17                         | 61                                     | 22            | 720             |
| Expellees; refugees           | 13                         | 66                                     | 21            | 210             |
| <u>Religion:</u>              |                            |  |               |                 |
| Catholics                     | 16                         | 62                                     | 22            | 402             |
| Protestants                   | 16                         | 63                                     | 21            | 487             |
| Others                        | 27                         | 36                                     | 37            | 11              |
| No religion                   | 7                          | 70                                     | 23            | 30              |

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

|                        | <u>Very great/<br/>Great value</u> | <u>Only a little/<br/>Very little<br/>value</u> | <u>No<br/>opinion</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>City Size:</u>      |                                    |   |                       |                         |
| Up to 1,999            | 17%                                | 62%   | 21%...100%            | 246                     |
| 2,000 to 19,999        | 13                                 | 64  | 23                    | 276                     |
| 20,000 to 99,999       | 22                                 | 56  | 22                    | 144                     |
| 100,000 and over       | 15                                 | 63  | 22                    | 264                     |
| <u>Land:</u>           |                                    |   |                       |                         |
| Schleswig/Holstein,    |                                    |   |                       |                         |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 11                                 | 77  | 12                    | 91                      |
| Lower Saxony           | 9                                  | 63  | 28                    | 124                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 12                                 | 62  | 26                    | 267                     |
| Hesse                  | 19                                 | 70  | 11                    | 73                      |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   | 29                                 | 52  | 19                    | 73                      |
| Baden/Wuerttemberg     | 25                                 | 57  | 18                    | 134                     |
| Bavaria                | 17                                 | 58  | 25                    | 168                     |

"When you consider present political developments, do you think it probable or improbable that a Summit Conference will actually take place? (Very probable or probable?) (Not so probable or very improbable?)"

|                               | Very<br>probable/<br>Probable | Not so<br>probable/<br>Very im-<br>probable | No opinion | No. of<br>cases |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|------------|-----------------|
| <u>West Germany</u>           | 43%                           | 28%   | 23%...100% | 930             |
| <u>Sex:</u>                   |                               |   |            |                 |
| Men                           | 56                            | 29  | 15         | 423             |
| Women                         | 44                            | 26  | 30         | 507             |
| <u>Education:</u>             |                               |   |            |                 |
| Elementary school             | 48                            | 28  | 24         | 784             |
| Secondary school w/o diploma  | 56                            | 28  | 16         | 116             |
| Diploma/university            | 60                            | 30  | 10         | 30              |
| <u>Income:</u>                |                               |   |            |                 |
| Up to 149 DM                  | 27                            | 33  | 40         | 33              |
| 150 to 249 DM                 | 36                            | 26  | 38         | 77              |
| 250 to 399 DM                 | 43                            | 29  | 28         | 155             |
| 400 to 499 DM                 | 52                            | 31  | 17         | 180             |
| 500 DM and more               | 58                            | 25  | 17         | 346             |
| No answer                     | 42                            | 29  | 29         | 139             |
| <u>Socio-Economic Status:</u> |                               |   |            |                 |
| Upper middle and well-to-do   | 57                            | 22  | 21         | 121             |
| Lower middle                  | 53                            | 28  | 19         | 566             |
| Poor                          | 37                            | 30  | 33         | 243             |
| <u>Age:</u>                   |                               |   |            |                 |
| Up to 24 years                | 52                            | 27  | 21         | 112             |
| 25 to 34 years                | 53                            | 31  | 16         | 158             |
| 35 to 44 years                | 55                            | 24  | 21         | 194             |
| 45 to 54 years                | 49                            | 28  | 23         | 198             |
| 55 years and over             | 42                            | 29  | 29         | 268             |
| <u>Party Preference:</u>      |                               |   |            |                 |
| SPD                           | 54                            | 31  | 15         | 235             |
| CDU/CSU                       | 53                            | 25  | 22         | 307             |
| FDP                           | 61                            | 35  | 4          | 54              |
| Other parties                 | 45                            | 31  | 24         | 29              |
| No party                      | 55                            | 25  | 20         | 110             |
| No opinion                    | 31                            | 27  | 42         | 195             |
| <u>Occupation:</u>            |                               |   |            |                 |
| Professionals                 | 40                            | 40  | 20         | 10              |
| Businessmen                   | 54                            | 32  | 14         | 57              |
| White-collar workers          | 62                            | 24  | 14         | 132             |
| Skilled laborers              | 54                            | 32  | 14         | 124             |
| Semi-skilled laborers         | 52                            | 28  | 20         | 134             |
| Farmers; farmhands            | 45                            | 30  | 25         | 47              |
| Housewives                    | 43                            | 26  | 31         | 332             |
| Pensioners; retired           | 38                            | 31  | 31         | 78              |
| Students; apprentices         | 63                            | 25  | 12         | 16              |
| <u>Origin:</u>                |                               |   |            |                 |
| Natives                       | 49                            | 28  | 23         | 720             |
| Expellees; refugees           | 51                            | 26  | 23         | 210             |
| <u>Religion:</u>              |                               |   |            |                 |
| Catholics                     | 45                            | 29  | 26         | 402             |
| Protestants                   | 51                            | 28  | 21         | 487             |
| Others                        | 46                            | 18  | 36         | 11              |
| No religion                   | 64                            | 23  | 13         | 30              |

(Cont'd on next page)



(Cont'd from preceding page)

|                        | <u>Very<br/>probable/<br/>Probable</u> | <u>Not so<br/>probable/<br/>Very im-<br/>probable</u> | <u>No opinion</u> | <u>No. of<br/>cases</u> |
|------------------------|--|---|-------------------|-------------------------|
| <u>City Size:</u>      |  |   |                   |                         |
| Up to 1,999            | 44%                                    | 34%   | 22%...100%        | 246                     |
| 2,000 to 19,999        | 48                                     | 25  | 27                | 276                     |
| 20,000 to 99,999       | 60                                     | 22  | 18                | 144                     |
| 100,000 and over       | 50                                     | 27  | 23                | 264                     |
| <u>Land:</u>           |  |   |                   |                         |
| Schleswig, Holstein,   |  |   |                   |                         |
| Hamburg, Bremen        | 56                                     | 27  | 17                | 91                      |
| Lower Saxony           | 45                                     | 25  | 30                | 124                     |
| North Rhine/Westphalia | 48                                     | 26  | 26                | 267                     |
| Hesse                  | 52                                     | 32  | 16                | 73                      |
| Rhineland/Palatinate   | 46                                     | 33  | 21                | 73                      |
| Baden/Wuerttemberg     | 59                                     | 25  | 16                | 134                     |
| Bavaria                | 42                                     | 31  | 27                | 168                     |







3 0112 077849435